

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

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INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MOGADISCIO

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL ZAGREB

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 1460

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR YO UR ET ZA AN SO XA

SUBJ: YUGOSLAV AND SOVIET POLICIES TOWARD AFRICA SOUTH OF THE
SAHARA

REF: A. BELGRADE 126 (NOTAL) B. ADDIS 640 (NOTAL)

C. LUSAKA 217 (NOTAL) D. MOGADISCIO 1706 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: DESPITE PARALLEL POLICIES OF YUGOSLAVIA
AND SOVIET UNION ON ANGOLA ISSUE, MANY YUGOSLAV FOREIGN
POLICY OBJECTIVES IN AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA ARE
BEGINNING TO DIVERGE WIDELY FROM THOSE OF SOVIET UNION,
AND GROWING SOVIET INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA IS INCREASING,
NOT LESSENING THOSE DIFFERENCES. END SUMMARY.

2. FOR YEARS, MOST PUBLIC TENETS OF YUGOSLAV AND SOVIET
POLICIES IN AFRICA HAVE BEEN THE SAME. BOTH COUNTRIES
HAVE CALLED FOR SUPPORT FOR ALL REVOLUTIONARY GROUPS
AGAINST COLONIAL AND LATER "NEOCOLONIAL" RULE, AND BOTH
HAVE SOUGHT TO DISMANTLE STRUCTURE OF EUROPEAN POLITICAL
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AND ECONOMIC DOMINANCE ON AFRICAN CONTINENT. BOTH HAVE

VIRULENTLY OPPOSED WHITE MINORITY REGIMES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND BOTH HAVE SHARPLY CRITICIZED ACTIVITIES OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS ALTHOUGH, NOT INCIDENTALLY, "FRATERNAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION" BETWEEN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES WHICH SEEMS TO BE OK (WITNESS ACTIVITIES OF YUGOSLAV-ZAMBIAN FIRM ZEKO). BUT NOW INCREASED SOVIET MILITARY AND POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA HAS PLACED YUGOSLAVIA IN EXTREMELY EMBARRASSING POSITION VIS-A-VIS ZAMBIA, ONE OF ITS STAUNCHEST FRIENDS IN AFRICA, AND IS WORKING AT COMPLETE CROSS PURPOSES WITH YUGOSLAV POLICY TOWARDS ANOTHER OF ITS OLD FRIENDS, ETHIOPIA.

3. IN ZAMBIAN CASE, YUGOSLAVS WERE ALREADY FACED WITH DILEMMA. TITO'S DECISION TO SUPPORT MPLA DID NOT SQUARE WITH ZAMBIA'S TACIT SUPPORT OF UNITA. YUGOSLAVS HAD CHIDED ZAMBIANS, AS IN RECENT ARTICLE BY FSFA OFFICIAL MILAN KOMATINA, FOR "THE FAILURE OF CERTAIN NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES TO HOLD TO THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION AND THE STANDARDS OF THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT FOR THE SAKE OF TERRITORIAL DESIGNS AND PRESTIGE." BUT THIS DILEMMA, A MINOR QUARREL BETWEEN TWO FRIENDS, COULD HAVE BEEN SMOOTHED OVER HAD IT NOT BEEN FOR MASSIVE APPLICATION OF SOVIET POWER IN ANGOLA, WHICH HAS LED TO CREATION OF HEAVILY ARMED ANGOLAN REGIME THAT MAY NOT SOON FORGET THAT ZAMBIA LINED UP FOR UNITA AND SOUTH AFRICA, AGAINST THEM. ZAMBIA HAS BEEN EMBARRASSED TO FIND ITSELF ON SAME SIDE AS RSA, AND MPLA'S QUICK VICTORY HAS FORCED THEM INTO NOT A LITTLE BACKPEDALLING, BUT YUGOSLAVIA HAS BEEN DOUBLY EMBARRASSED BEFORE ZAMBIANS BECAUSE IT APPEARED TO SUPPORT SOVIET MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AGAINST ZAMBIA'S FORMER ALLY UNITA (REF C).

4. YUGOSLAVS HAVE REMAINED GOOD FRIENDS WITH NON-ALIGNED ETHIOPIA AND SEE OVERTHROW OF HAILE SELASSIE AS BEGINNING OF NEWER, MORE JUST SOCIAL ORDER; BUT FEEL THAT BUILDING OF THIS NEW ORDER IS THREATENED BY POTENTIAL SOMALI-ETHIOPIAN CONFLICT. FSFA DEPUTY SECRETARY MOJSOV MADE OBLIQUE REFERENCE TO THIS WHEN HE MENTIONED RECENTLY THAT YUGOSLAVIA WAS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT DJIBOUTI AND HORN OF AFRICA IN GENERAL, AND THAT WHEN PREMIER CONFIDENTIAL

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BIJEDIC WAS IN FRANCE THIS WAS A MAJOR CONVERSATION TOPIC. ANOTHER YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL HERE HAS BEEN EVEN MORE EXPLICIT, TELLING US THAT SOMALIS ARE BEING ENCOURAGED BY SOVIETS TO EXPLOIT TEMPORARY ETHIOPIAN WEAKNESS, AND MEANWHILE YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR TO SOMALIA HAS REPORTED THAT SOVIETS MASSIVE PRESENCE AND MACHINATIONS IN SOMALIA HAVE LED TO YUGOSLAV ISOLATION THERE (REF D).

5. COMMENT: IN FACE OF THESE DIFFICULTIES, YUGOSLAVS HAVE CONTINUED TO BUILD UPON ALREADY ESTABLISHED CONTACTS WITH ZAMBIANS AND ETHIOPIANS, CONTINUED THEIR OWN AFRICAN POLICY, AND DOWNPLAYED THEIR DIFFERENCES WITH THE SOVIETS. MOST RECENTLY, YUGOSLAV INTERIOR MINISTER HERLJEVIC VISITED ZAMBIA (REFS A, C) AND ETHIOPIA (REF B) ON WHAT FSFA ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA MIRKO OSTOJIC HAS DESCRIBED AS PURELY POLICE AND INTERNAL SECURITY VISIT, AND IN PAST WEEK ETHIOPIAN INTERIOR MINISTER AND ZAMBIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVED IN YUGOSLAVIA FOR TALKS WITH GOY (SEPTELS WILL FOLLOW IF ANY INFORMATION DEVELOPED). BUT WITH INCREASING SOVIET INVOLVEMENT SOUTH OF THE SAHARA, SOVIET AND YUGOSLAV POLICIES CONTINUE TO HAVE POTENTIAL TO GROW APART. UPCOMING CASTRO VISIT (MARCH 6-7) MAY INDICATE WHICH WAY WINDS ARE BLOWING. SWEITZER

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